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CONDUCTED BY JAMES HALL, GENERAL AGENT OF THE MARYLAND STATE COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

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"Nothing is more clearly written in the Book of Destiny, than the Emancipation of the Blacks; and it is equally certain that the two races will never live in a state of equal freedom under the same government, so insurmountable are the barriers which nature, habit and opinion have established between them." JEFFERSON.

We have the pleasure of laying before our readers in the present number the long expected intelligence from Africa. An interval of near five months had elapsed since the last previous arrival, and we had begun to feel anxious, nay, almost apprehensive, with regard to affairs in the colony. But the tenor of the despatches serves but to confirm our often expressed confidence in the efficiency of the government, and the ability of the colony to take care of itself.

It will be seen by the despatches that trying emergencies have arisen, and that they have been promptly met.

Perhaps an apology may be deemed necessary for publishing two long accounts of the same transactions: (and certainly we owe one to Dr. McGill for inserting verbatim his long and interesting letter, which was intended only for private perusal,) but we think there are reasons which will justify our course. It will be recollected that there are not wanting those who lose no opportunity of bestowing unmeasured censure upon the colonization scheme and its colonies; their successes are met by sneers, and their reverses with unrestrained expressions of satisfaction;—and the least indication of a disposition on part of the colonists to resist and resent the oppressions and outrages of the natives, is a signal for a general onset from the abolition press for the injuries inflicted upon the poor unsophisticated Africans, by the colonizationists and their agents.

There are also many true friends of Africa and the colonization cause, who are apprehensive lest the scenes of settling and christianizing America by the whites, may be re-enacted in Africa through the agency of the Liberian colonies. We therefore think it important that in the occurrence of events like those detailed in the following communications, all facts, pro and con, should be made known, and, the more numerous the sources of information, the better.

With regard to the relations between the Maryland colony of Cape Palmas and the native Africans, it has ever been our boast, that they have uniformly been kind and pacific. The settlement of that colony, the planting of a civilized but ignorant people, on the same soil, and in immediate contact with rude barbarians, rife with all the elements of discord, and their mutual occupation of the country under distinct governments, for a period of ten years, without open hostilities and bloodshed, is an anamoly in the

history of colonization and of the world. But let it not be supposed that this state of things has been maintained without the greatest efforts and the greatest sacrifices. The forbearance exercised by these colonists towards the natives, when suffering from their almost continual thefts, depredations, annoying palavers, intrigues with the Bush people, trespasses on property and embargoes on trade, has been such as to excite the astonishment of all acquainted with the facts, and justly entitles them to a very high moral rank among the nations of the earth. And although it appears from the letters of Gov. Russwurm and Dr. McGill, that actual hostilities were at one time considered inevitable, yet we have a confidence that the hitherto friendly relations between the parties will continue to be preserved.

If the system heretofore pursued, of dealing honestly and justly with these people, of making reparations for all injuries by them sustained, of reasoning and moral suason in all cases where they can be supposed to act from ignorance of the laws and customs of civilized nations, and of forbearance in cases of obvious trespass and wrong, cease to preserve the heretofore peaceful relations, we confidently believe the presence of the African squadron on that coast will have that effect. It will convince them that resistance or opposition to the government of the colony will be useless. They will be assured that so far as the acts of that government are right and just they will be supported and upheld in their execution.

We may justly consider the opportune arrival of the squadron at Cape Palmas as providential; not, however, as preserving the colony from destruction—but from war and bloodshed.

DESPATCHES FROM GOV. RUSSWURM TO THE AGENT.

CAPE PALMAS, WEST AFRICA,
January 10, 1844.

DR. JAMES HALL, *Gen. Agent, Md. St. Col. Soc.*

Dear Sir,—I had the honor of addressing you by Capt. Goldsmith, who left this coast in October. You were then informed of my wish to proceed into the interior, and if possible, to reach *Bouroboh*, the Camwood region, and even farther to the Pah-country. The attempt has been made, accompanied by King Freeman and Yellow Will; and after passing through the *Saureekai* (King Cavah's) Boloboh and Toboe tribes, we were compelled to return, from jealousy on the part of the last mentioned, and an unwillingness to furnish us with guides or escort, accompanied with a threat, that we would surely be robbed on the route by *Strangers*, unless accompanied by some of their people. We were well treated throughout the whole of our jaunt, with the above exception; but every where we went, a palaver had to be held, to explain the unheard of project of a civilized man, undertaking so much trouble for the mere purpose of opening the path, and enriching the country. It was a new idea forced into minds as dark as *Egypt* and fenced in by *selfishness*—and was not to be credited, until we returned empty-handed, after having refused all efforts to decoy us into bartering.

I commenced the route with the notion, that I might use a hammock whenever fatigued, but I soon had to discard it, and measure Mother Earth, on foot, the whole distance, and let no man think he can use one in his travels in the interior, for he will be sadly disappointed. I was wonderfully upheld throughout, and, for once in my life, the desire of exploring our interior

seized me: but you know, from experience, the difficulties which accompany *a great man* when he moves in Africa, are a thousand fold what they would be in a civilized country. It is expected he will hardly do any thing like common people! We were absent about two weeks, and perhaps I never spent my time so much to the advantage of the colony. The Toboes almost exacted a promise from me to return next year, when all difficulties about further progress into the interior, would be removed, as you will perceive by the accompanying *scraps* which were made on the spot. But to proceed.

We had not been home a month when king F. was advised to convene all the kings and headmen from Fish Town to Cavally river, *ostensibly* to settle all old palavers, &c., and regulate their trade with the Bush people. It was early hinted to me from the Bush people, that the convention intended to interfere with the American trade also, but when the matter was laid before Freeman and Yellow Will of Half-Cavally, both denied it so promptly, that I could not disbelieve them. This reference to them was not once or twice, but several times, as reports reached me; and their denials were the same to the last. On the day of their breaking up (Sunday) I was then convinced that no faith was to be put in the professions of an African chief, no more than in the *Punica fibes* of the ancients, as they had against all my *protests*, raised the prices of rice, oil, and every other article of produce, and to compel me into their measures, previously to separating, laid an *embargo* on all supplies, or any labor being performed by their people. But this time, they were mistaken, as I had upwards of 1000 kroos of rice on hand, and was in daily expectation of Commodore Perry with the squadron. The idea of conceding to their rates was never thought of, and they were told in palaver, after having prepared for the worst, that the measures adopted were of a hostile nature and must be removed—but their reply was, "that the steps taken were only trade palaver, and they had no idea of war whatever. The embargo was laid by the Convention, and could only be removed by them—that Freeman had been elected king (head) over all, &c. &c."

Things were in a state of almost actual hostility when the squadron arrived, and Commodore Perry was advised thereof. He promptly sent Lieut. Poor of the Macedonian, on shore, with a notification to Freeman to call all his kings and headmen to a palaver with him within 48 hours—as soon as they could be assembled. Before doing this, however, he had despatched the U. S. ship Decatur, Capt. Abbott, to Half-Cavally, at the request of Rev. Mr. Hazelhurst, to bring off the Rev. Mr. Payne and lady, whose situation was considered rather critical from continued acts of oppression on the part of the headmen for the last three or four months.—When the palaver was held by Com. Perry, and Freeman and his kings, &c., were told by him that the embargo must be removed, and trade be suffered to come in as usual, they readily agreed to it and pledged themselves not to interfere with it again. I embraced the opportunity then to suggest to Freeman the propriety—nay, even necessity—of selling his town sites to the society. He promised to consider on it, but he is so full of duplicity, that I sometimes think nothing but force will drive them off the Cape. Perhaps, you may think, that it ought to have been done, when the palaver was hottest—the easiest thing possible, were all your colonists settled in East and West Harper, and not in the Bush. Perhaps a letter from Mr. Latrobe on this point, directed to Freeman and his headmen, might have a good effect.

But our troubles were not all over yet. On the Commodore's landing, a salute of 13 guns was fired, which induced (we suppose) the Peribohs, our nearest Bush neighbors, to come into Mt. Tubman village, 40 or 50, armed to

the teeth, under the idea, that we were fighting with Freeman. When carried before the officer in command, they were requested to leave their arms there, until they were ready to return home. This they refused, and one had the audacity to make signs that he would die first, and then began to prepare his gun to fire, when an order was given by another "to *run*." In the confusion, some of our people fired and killed two, but I could hardly blame them, as only a part came up to the guard, whilst the rest were lurking in the bushes. They greatly outnumbered us also, besides being the same tribe who once before deceived us and killed some of our people. When this palaver was talked, their excuse was, that their object was to visit Ballah's family, who had lately lost a member, but we thought *then*, and think *now*, otherwise. The palaver is now set, and we are on as good terms as ever. They will hardly venture in again *with arms*, when a palaver is on hand with Freeman.

The war between the Saureekais and Barrakahs, is in a fair train of being settled. A few of the customs of this land have just been exercised, such as the beating of two parties of *mediators* severely. King Neh of Denah was the principal of one party; he was not injured, and is now in the Boloboh, waiting the result of affairs—he is assisted zealously by all the surrounding Bush kings. We shall have *peace* in the Bush, if only out of opposition to the Beach, who in their late convention also passed some very severe laws against the present system of trade with the Bush. They would *extort* on them also, but I am inclined to think that Freeman & Co. will find themselves again mistaken while we continue on present friendly terms with the Saureekais and others. I have endeavoured to show our Beach people, that the Bush are the strongest, and if the Americans were not in the way, they would drive them into the sea—but native-like they will not look to dangers just below the surface, but would shut their eyes and grasp all they can reach, no matter whether right or wrong.

The Saureekais have behaved quite friendly lately, and by judicious treatment and a determination to keep our paths open, I am in hopes to attach them warmly to our interest; so that we can count upon using them as auxiliaries against others, should need be. I am afraid too much duplicity has been passed upon us and the Bush people by Freeman. I have been told that the latter are always brought to terms by intimating that we would fight his battles, if he were attacked by any other tribe—but I shall let them know better. I had almost forgotten to say, that all my previous efforts to make peace have been frustrated through Freeman's hostility and deceit. Lately, the Saureekais sent in by one of our colonists to hear what were my views on the present efforts made by Neh for peace between them and Barrakahs—of course, favourable, and I shall despatch a messenger in a few days, or go myself.

The French Government have *eleven* men of war on this coast, and two steamers have lately arrived at Goree. They are all small—the largest a ten gun brig—one, a schooner which has been lying off and on in our harbour for the last ten days. They frequently come on shore and appear well—and the captain informs me that his cruising ground is from Garroway to Grand Bassam. The Block Houses, &c. for Garroway, have been placed at Grand Bassam or Assinee, and others are to come out. It is intended to make a coal depot of Garroway.

I find great jealousy existing among the civilized ones on our coast, and I expect, Africa may yet light the torch which shall bring on a general war —but let us hope not.

I trust our enterprising merchants will open their eyes to the trade now carried on—for while they are sleeping the Hamburghers and Bremen ves-

sels are doing all they know—one of the former lately sold and carried away from Monrovia, a cargo of $16,000 in six weeks. The same house has six vessels in the trade, and want more to carry home their return cargoes. All that our vessels have hitherto wanted, they now have, *protection* from *armed vessels* of their *own*—and it will be a long time before you hear of another outrage on an American merchantman, from the judicious, firm and mild course pursued by our Commodore. He is highly popular among us all—even among natives, who say "he is a big man, fine man, Gubner."

Of course you will learn from their despatches more than I can say of their proceedings. The Commodore has obliged the Fishermen on the *Blue Bally* side to move off—has settled Capt. Brown's palaver at *Settra Kroo*—done all he could for Burke's, from the confused details given by B. himself; and then proceeded to Little Bereby, where he has succeeded admirably, considering with whom he had to deal—having burned 4 or 5 towns, and killed 6 or 7—among them Crackow's brother, one of the principal actors in the tragedy. Think of his audacity in awaiting to talk palaver, with the blood of so many crying for vengeance on his head. A native African, must of all men have the most assurance in the world—pity, a little of it could not fall on some of their descendants!

Our expedition has arrived in good health. We are greived to see so many women and children. When the vessel displayed her broad penant to the breeze with the honoured name of "Latrobe" engraved thereon, we were all carried away with the idea, that the long expected packet had arrived—but we don't despair, and hope to see the day when not only one but two shall ply regularly between Cape Palmas and Baltimore.

I am sorry to inform you of the decease of Jacob Gibson within the last month. We have lost one of our best colonists—he died of consumption.

Accompanying this you will receive my semi-annual account up to June 30, 1843. I was not aware the postage is so much. It would gratify me if the allowance for House Expenses, was raised to one thousand dollars—as I have to keep open house, there being no public house of entertainment in the colony. Very respectfully,

Your obed't serv't,

JNO. B. RUSSWURM,
Agent Md. S. C. S.

LETTER FROM DR. McGILL TO DR. HALL.

HARPER, *Dec.* 17, 1843.

My Dear Friend,—Your letters bearing date June 8, Aug. 6, and Sept. 9, were received with papers, etc. all of which were truly acceptable.

This letter is designed to be lengthy, and I must give you many particulars of news, which Gov. R. may not find time to mention.

First then we have been on the point of having a war with the whole of the Grebo tribe, matters are not yet properly adjusted, nor do we believe that our colony can be secure until our natives are thrashed.

In November, King Freeman determined on convening all the Kings and headmen of the Grebo country in Grand Council. Their *declared* object was the adjustment of all difficulties between different members of the tribe; the settlement of boundary questions, and to propose measures for the settlement of all contentions that might, could or would arise in future. This effected, they were to concert measures for reducing the price of native products in the interior, which had arisen to nearly the same standard as the prices on the beach. They gave their word that the trade of our colony would not be interfered with nor obstructed.

Many of us during this extraordinary session, and indeed as soon as it was in contemplation, argued results unfavourable to the colony. Gov. R's confidence in old Freeman's word, led him to refrain from measures which might have prevented the meeting of the tribe. Circumstances seemed to justify the course of the Governor, he was anxious to open the camwood trade, had been in the Bush himself for the purpose, and hoped that he would have it in his power to concert measures with all the beach people for opening the path, and settling all palavers in the bush. He did not believe that Freeman would deceive him, whilst I declared that I had no confidence in the good faith of any native African.

The council were engaged nearly three weeks in settlement of their disputes and regulating prices for the interior. On the last day they presented themselves in a body (King Freeman excepted, who affected to be opposed) and demanded of Gov. an advance on the prices of all articles purchased of them. They were told that the prices we were then giving had been agreed upon by the King two years previously, that we had no disposition to alter the prices except to reduce them, as they were higher than on any other part of the Coast: (this at the time was considered an imposition to which we were forçed to submit, and that now we would make no advance, particularly when the Kings had assured us that it was not their intention to disturb our trade.) They demanded of us double and for some articles treble the amount we now pay, and pressed it on us in such a manner that Russwurm indignantly declared that he "would eat grass first." They then left us in a rage, to put their threats in execution, and immediately enacted the following laws.

"No native of the Grebo tribe shall sell to the colonist; nor shall any members of distant tribes be allowed to trade with them."

"No native shall be allowed to perform any manner of labour for the colonist. All boys, girls, or labourers, now living with, or employed by either colonist or missionaries, in the Grebo country, shall immediately retire to their respective homes, and hold no further communication with them. No native is hereafter allowed to carry message, or note, or letter, to or from colonist nor missionaries, nor shall they board vessels at sea, nor land cargo for them. Individuals found breaking these or any one of these rules shall forfeit either him or his family not less than ten, nor more than twenty 'woman bullocks, three goats, &c.' On a repetition of the offence, the individual and family shall be expelled from the Grebo tribe."

"Every Grebo subject shall do all in his, her, or their power to prevent colonist and missionaries from procuring wood and water, and to starve them into an agreement with the demands of the tribe."

"We, the members of this Convention, do declare King Freeman the head of the Grebo tribe, who will concert measures for enforcing the above laws for ten years, during which time we bind ourselves to join him with our forces in the event of a war with the Americans."

Adjournment was then proposed *sine die*, and every fellow of them made for home with all his might, leaving Freeman to "bell the cat."

On the next day (Sunday) our native boys disappeared, and we commenced active preparations for war, these completed, Freeman was sent for. He was told that he had deceived us, and enquired whether it was his determination to enforce the measures of the council. He gave us to understand that he should certainly do so unless the council revoked their decrees. He was then told that we viewed his disposition to do so as indication of enmity towards us, and a positive declaration of war, for which we stood prepared, told him to go home look his head and abolish his laws, or make up his mind to leave the hill, as we were too near each other to be enemies. He treated us with coolness, and never returned us an answer. For three days we remained in this state, our powder and rice was removed

from the store, ammunition served out, a rigid guard kept, cannon loaded and pointed, and all ready for action: the slightest movement on their part would have settled the question of supremacy. Their women, children and effects were secretly sent off, and messengers despatched to hurry on Cavalla, Rock and Fishtown forces.

On the fifth day the American squadron hove in sight, we were anxious to communicate with them but had not the means, (no boats,) could not get a single native to go off; even Yellow Will kept out of the way. Mr. Hazlehurst, alarmed for the position of Mr. Payne at Half Cavally, and of Smith at Cavalla River, determined to board in a canoe manned with colonists. He got safely on board, saw Commodore Perry, stated to him Mr. Payne's unpleasant position, &c. The Decatur was immediately despatched to Half Cavally. The alarming account he gave of matters on shore, induced the Commodore to send a boat at dusk with a few arms and rockets, with a promise to send a large force on shore when a signal was made, and a promise to land a good force next day. In the morning he came with about one hundred and fifty men, who marched through the native town, previous to forming before the Agency House. A salute of thirteen guns was fired. Nothing more being necessary just then, the Commodore rescued a fellow to whom they were giving saucy wood.

Three or four hours had elapsed when we heard that our people were engaged with the Bush people at Mount Tubman, that two natives had been killed, &c. Our people flew to arms, judging that it was a preconcerted measure between the Bush and Cape Palmas people, that the former had mistaken our salute to the Commodore for the commencement of our struggle, and not being aware of the arrival of the squadron, had come to attack us in the rear.—Away went Commodore, officers, marines and sailors, helter skelter, horses, jackasses, mules and men, with our Governor in the crowd. They soon got there, but the fray was over. It seems a number of Bushmen, armed and equipped for war, had come in on hearing the salute, a portion of them secreted themselves whilst eight or ten came forward; they were questioned, and on expressing a wish to go in to the Cape were required to leave their arms at Mount Tubman. This they refused to do, and started to go off. One or two of them prepared their guns for firing. At the same time a party of near thirty were seen stealing out of the bush. Those near the Americans sung out "run!" and one presented his gun. At this moment the word was given to our men, (there were only six colonists on the Mount at the time, the remainder having gone to town with vegetables for the squadron, apprehending no danger from the bush,) three of them only fired, two natives fell dead, both shot through the head; the third wounded his man, who left his gun and scampered off; the rest followed them. A cannon was hastily pointed and a load of grape sent after the distant party, it, however, did not touch them.

We kept our eyes on our town people, they affected much surprise and entire ignorance of the object of the Bushmen—we found no just cause for commencing with them, although our suspicions were strong, very strong indeed, against them!

We were forced to view the war as now commenced, with every thing against us, but, even under these circumstances, I regretted the presence of the squadron. I was and am yet of the opinion that if any fighting *must* be done, we should do it ourselves, as we cannot always have the assistance of an American vessel of war. But for the arrival of the squadron our position was such that we must have driven off these natives, or have been broken up. I know not how a war with them would terminate, but judge, from the bold front displayed by our men, that we might, nay, *certainly would*, whip them: but let me go on with my story.

The next day a palaver was held, the members of the former Convention came together, and agreed to withdraw the embargo, and to be friends. The Commodore presided—I was not there, preferring to keep on my guard against the treachery of these people. Russwurm urged upon them the purchase of their town on the hill. Com. Perry left it with them to sell it or not just as suited them. We had previously determined that the evacuation or sale of their town sites was the only condition on which we would again be friends with Freeman after his treacherous conduct towards us. To the Governor's proposal they promised a reply at some future period, after the departure of the squadron.

Com. Perry declared peace, the natives of course agreed to it, but your superior knowledge of matters and things in Africa will give you some idea of our feelings of security. We, however, did not urge matters, as we did not think they could be bettered either by the fighting or palavering of the Commodore, either of which, with a good cause, I really believe he would have engaged in.

On the evening of the second day after the departure of the squadron for the leeward, as a matter of experiment, a rocket was sent up—the natives became first alarmed, then furious, they flew to arms, and kept up a war dance all night, notwithstanding our assurances that the rocket was not intended to harm them, *unless they gave us just cause to burn their town*, when the rockets would most certainly be used.

Our assurances did not in the least serve to tranquillize them, they mustered strong, would run in a body towards our edge of the town, but never advanced a step beyond it. It is well for them that they did not, as I had positive orders when they advanced fifty yards towards us, to fire on them.

On the same day the Governor had required of them positively either to sell out their town, or to return us the money paid them for territory, and we would abandon Palmas, as we could not be forever living in the midst of palavers. This and the rocket taken together, caused that display of preparation for war which they had previously kept concealed.

Their war dance was kept up the whole of the next day, and until ten o'clock the next night, when our entire force on the Cape, twenty-five men, felt rather tired of being kept at their guns—a message was sent—they were desired to stop their noise and let us sleep, or to prepare for action, as they seemed anxious for it; they preferred the former, gave up their dance, and have been quiet ever since. Here I will leave the affairs of the colony for a time, and turn to the movements of the squadron.

As previously stated, the Decatur was despatched to Half Cavally, where Mr. Payne was detained by the natives. A force was landed, and amidst positively hostile movements on the part of the natives, Mr. P. lady and attendants were brought off—the natives all the while capering, ringing bells, and shewing the strongest inclination to fight—no blow was struck, however, on either side, as Capt. Abbott's orders were positive with regard to shedding of blood—he bore their insults tamely. Mr. Payne was landed here—he now lives in town, determined not to leave us even to dwell at Mt. Vaughan. So much for the long mooted question of colonial protection—we need not a more striking acknowledgment.

Having done all in his power to tranquilize matters between us and the natives, the Commodore proceeded to leeward. Gov. Roberts was on board—an invitation was given Gov. Russwurm and myself to accompany him, but it was thought advisable under the existing state of things for both to remain at home.

The squadron first proceeded to Roobokah, where the natives were ready to receive them, four hundred strong. On landing, the boats (some of them) were swamped, and their arms and ammunition injured. The for-

midable appearance of the natives and their disavowal of any connection with the Bereby people, induced the Commodore to leave them undisturbed. Jamah of Roobokah was induced to bear them company to Bassa, where King George joined them, and the squadron proceeded to Little Bereby, the scene of the Farwell tragedy. A krooman was sent on shore to state to them the intention of the Commodore to talk palaver. Encouraged by the presence of the Roobokah and Bassa kings, this was assented to, and the next day appointed for the meeting. At the time appointed a large force was landed, a tent pitched on the beach, and a message sent to Craco 2d. He came in company with several headmen, and a young brother as an interpreter: the natives in the mean time being drawn up in battle array, near the edge of the wood.

The palaver commenced, the murder of Farwell and crew, and the destruction of his vessel was acknowledged—the interpreter insolently admitting that he had been the principal actor in the seizure of the vessel. Whilst talking, the natives opened a fire from the bush—attempts were made to seize those natives who were in the palaver, this failing, they were shot down. Thus the affray commenced, which terminated with the destruction of six native towns, and the death of seven natives—on the part of the Americans only three men wounded. Roberts was in the midst, and says that there was more confusion in the ranks of the Americans than he has ever witnessed in any of our Colonial engagements. An irregular fire was kept up by the natives for five or six hours. It is unnecessary for me to go farther into particulars.

The news spread like wildfire along the coast. Our natives heard that the Commodore intended on his return to drive them from Cape Palmas, which of course was false.—As soon as the squadron hove in sight on their return, the natives began to send off their women, children and effects, until not a woman was to be seen in our vicinity. We could only look on calmly, ready to take advantage of any sudden act of treachery on their part, giving them at the same time the fullest assurances that we would deal honestly with them: but it was of no use, they would not return until the squadron took their departure to the windward, leeward and elsewhere.

December 31*st.* Our present position is this—we have the Barrakah people (the same who murdered Parker and family, four years ago, and who have since had no intercourse with the colony) swearing vengeance against us for killing two of their men at Mount Tubman. We have the treachery of the Cape Palmas natives to guard against, who are secretly stimulating the Barrakah people, with whom they are related, to seek revenge on us: they affect to use measures for settling our difficulties, whilst in reality they throw every obstacle in the way: they are in league with the Grebo tribe, who are all we believe ready to pounce upon us from all quarters. The Saureekai tribe have been at war for four years with Barrakah. We have as a matter of prudence made them our allies, much to the dissatisfaction of Cape Palmas people. The Saureekais trade directly with us, and we have told our people that the slightest intereference of theirs will produce events, which in defence of our allies we could not prevent. We have enough rice for six months, and continue to receive supplies of this article. The colonist dare not go to any distance from the colony, except in fever, as the Barrakah people are constantly in the bush.

Our determination is that in the event the Barrakah attacks us, to beat them off the best we can, if the slightest move is discovered on the part of our doubtful Cape Palmas friends (who swear they will not aid us) to dispose of them as quick as possible, or if they give us no cause to act thus, to await the arrival of a man of war, request its remaining here for a week, whilst we go to Barrakah (about fifteen miles distant) and break them up

root and branch. This we can accomplish I think with fifty men, the presence of the man of war giving us security at home. We discover no other course by which we can extricate ourselves from the unpleasant position in which we are placed.

January 8th, 1844. I will close my prolix journal of events by stating that at this date, affairs have assumed a very different aspect: the palavers having all been settled, and we are settling down into our old peaceful course again, which I trust may not be soon interrupted. You will no doubt be led at once to conclude that the presence of the U. S. squadron in our waters will be of the greatest advantage to the colony. It will insure us against any outbreak on part of the natives, and enable us to extend the colony in any manner that may be thought advisible for its best interest.—It will also have a good effect upon the colonists. They now feel that they are not forsaken and neglected by their foster country.

Yours, very truly, S. F. McGill.

LETTER FROM CAPT. J. MAYO, COMMANDER OF THE MACEDONIAN, TO MR. LATROBE.

U. S. Frigate Macedonian,
Monrovia, Liberia, *January* 3, 1844.

Dear Sir,—I take pleasure in thus renewing an old acquaintance of years gone by.

It affords me great pleasure to say that our Maryland colony is doing well. They have recently repulsed an attack of the natives, and I think no other trouble need be expected, especially after the chastisement inflicted on the natives south of this by our squadron.

The people of our colony in Liberia, have turned their attention to agriculture, and have succeeded beyond any thing reasonably to be expected.

I am frank to say, as a southerner and slaveholder, that I have been opposed to the Colonization Society, but I am now equally frank in saying that I advocate it, and do recommend it to all slaveholders and others as the only way of getting the blacks removed from us—this much you can say.

I enclose a letter from Gov. Russwurm, and had intended to give you a detailed account of our colony, but circumstances have prevented me.

Be pleased to have my name put to your list of subscribers, as one of its warmest advocates. I am, dear sir, yours, very truly,

J. Mayo, *Capt. U. S. Frigate Macedonian, Af. Squad.*

To J. H. B. Latrobe, *Pres. Md. St. Col. Soc.*

JOURNAL OF A TOUR OF GOV. RUSSWURM AND MR. STUART TO THE SAUREEKAI, TOBOE AND BOLOBO COUNTRIES.

Wednesday, October 4th, 1843.

Having determined on a visit to the interior as far as the Bourroboh country, and every thing being ready for our departure, King Freeman, Yellow Will, J. H. Stewart and myself, accompanied by 12 natives and 3 settlers, left the banks of our river about noon, October 4th, on our journey to Saureekai big town. Our route was to the North, through cleared fields, where the rice had just been reaped, till we reached the first and nearest Saureekai town, called *Geliboh.* The head man's name is Queah, an old acquaintance, who treated us very civilly, though there existed some coolness between his town and our Cape people, about a deer which had been killed by the former. The distance is about 7 miles. Our route onward from Geliboh was still through land which had been cultivated some two

or three years before, across two small streams which we were told emptied into Fish Town river, quite insignificant at this season. The land was generally level, and we saw but little of the original forest standing.—About 5, P. M. we arrived at the big town of Saureekai thoroughly wet with rain, and walking through tall grass. After paying our respects to the King, we steered our course to the Methodist Mission House outside of the town, where we were hospitably entertained during our sojourn, by the resident missionary, the Rev. Thos. Jackson. This mission has been in operation 6 or 8 months, and the school numbers 25 or 30 scholars. The Society have two other stations, nearly ready for occupation, in the Saureekai country; and they have done well, aware as we all are, of the love of palavers among natives, and the unsettled state of the country from war.

The Saureekais and Barrakahs have been at war for nearly five years; and as their territories join, they have spared no pains to harass each other as much as possible. It is true, many have not fallen on either side, as all their towns are barricadoed and regular night watch is kept. About midnight, Oct. 5th, a gun was fired, and immediately, enquiry was made by the watch if any of us were out and had fired. The missionary replied in the negative, and about an hour afterwards, the watch returned and informed us that one of their town people had fired at a racoon. There was something exciting in being disturbed out of a sound sleep, in an interior town by a night guard, as we were outside of the barricade, though within hail of the town. The missionary further informed us, that the Barrakah warriors have often been around the mission house at night, and wondered that the colonists could sleep there so exposed, as the building was then unfinished. But they have never interfered with them or the children under their care; and so secure do the boys consider themselves, that many remain during the night, against the wishes of their parents.

The parties are both tired of the war, and would gladly hail the return of peace: but they are careful to hide their views on the subject, from the customs of the country, which saddle the party which first seeks peace with all the expenses of the war. The mediator is also liable to like costs. The Saureekais of late, have been the aggressors and have broken up two Barrakah towns. They are also the stronger party, and own eleven or twelve towns, though the Barrakahs are considered the best warriors.

Their big towns are so near, that their war horns can be heard by either side. Saureekai's big Town contains 1100 or 1200 inhabitants; its head men sway the bush tribes, and are very jealous about civilized people visiting them. Saw there one poor Barrakah prisoner in sticks—appeared quite at his ease, and spoke to such of our party as he knew—was told that four had lately escaped through aid from the women. Quite near the mission house, a hill was pointed out where all murderers were formerly confined under a guard, till they starved to death, or were destroyed by beasts of prey.

The big town is about 12 miles N. N. E. from Cape Palmas.—We remained there two days, the most of which was spent in palavering, and explaining to them our views in visiting the interior. As King Freeman and Yellow Will were present, the burden of palavering rested with them, and they were successful. For, much to our surprise, the headmen appointed a head warrior (to accompany us) and Pio, one of the chief men, also gave us his son a likely lad of 16.—There was an evident improvement in the soil as soon as we reached the Saureekai country, and it was our impression that it was strong enough to bear cotton or corn.

The Saureekais are considered a powerful tribe. They have ever been friendly to the colony from its settlement; and I used every endeavor to impress them with the idea, that nothing but the best feelings existed on

our part. I was sorry to see the unsettled state of things from the war, and determined on my return, to put an end to it, if possible.

Leaving Saureekai, after breakfast Oct. 6th, we arrived after a pleasant walk at Kay, King Teddah's town, in the Bolobo country about 3, P. M. where we were hospitably received and entertained by the old King. Our party being large, the first enquiry was as to the motives which induced King Freeman and myself to leave home and visit the Bush. Being satisfied on this head, we were provided with the best and made welcome to Boloboh. All parties being acquainted with King Teddah we felt more at home than we did at Saureekai, where palavering and the Barrakah war were the only two subjects upon which they loved to dilate.

The Bolobohs have a fine level country and but few people; at present they only number six towns—two are of the second size (Kay and King Tevay's town,) the others are very small. They are unfortunately much divided among themselves, and will remain so until some man of superior intellect shall spring up and re-unite them. In their last war with the Pleebohs, two of the towns joined their foes, and are now disowned by the tribe. Their country appears to have been earlier settled than any other in their vicinity; as a tradition is current, that Saureekai and Barrakah were first settled by two families from Boloboh country, and there is every probability of its truth. But mark the turn of events. The Saureekais being now nearer to Cape Palmas than the B's consider them as their Bush people, and exact a tribute for keeping open the path to the beach. After breakfast next morning, a palaver was called in due form, and Yellow Will my headman and interpreter, was instructed to enlarge upon the motives which had induced King Freeman and myself to undertake a visit to the interior. Our object was not for trade, we wished to meet the different Kings and headmen of the countries through which our route lay, and if possible, by negotiation to convince them, that it was for their interest to have a free path to Cape Palmas, the land abounding in cloths, powder, guns and tobacco—the black man's gold and silver.

In our palaver at Saureekai, they agreed to give free path to the Bolobohs and Toboes, if each would pay them one bullock; and this, we urged upon them earnestly, if they really viewed matters in the same light we did —we even went still further, we promised to make the same proposition to the Toboes who were behind them, in their favor. We requested also of them guides to the big town of the Toboe nation. After dashing them one piece of romauls, a few yards of fine cloth and some bars tobacco, the palaver broke up. Shortly after, a fine bullock was presented to us, which was ordered to be killed, and we were feasted on fresh beef. We were also told privately, that our visit was approved of, and guides should be ready when wanted: but in the midst of this agreeable news, two Bushmen ran through the town and told the people that the Saureekais had closed the path, and stopped one of their number, and they were on their return to their country with the sad tale. All were at a stand, until fortunately, the young Saureekai head soldier, who had been appointed by his people to accompany us, was sent for and explained matters. He gave us every satisfaction, and made matters appear quite differently from the Bushmen's tale.

It is said the Methodist mission intend to locate a branch in the Boloboh country, as soon as the different stations in the Saureekai country are filled up. A finer country they need not have, nor a more quiet people, so far as our observations extended.

Our route from Saureekai was about N. N. E. through old farms—some recent and some of older date—across one small branch of Fish Town river near Kay—where otters, we were told, are frequently taken by the natives.

The stream was quite insignificant, 20 or 25 feet across and mostly filled up with old dead trees and branches. Kay is distant 10 or 12 miles from

Saureekai big town. The Bolobohs are bounded North by the Toboes—South by Saureekai—East by Pleebo and West by Garrawoy Bush, distant about fifteen miles. Things being in so favourable a train at Boloboh, we deemed it advisable to send forward two colonists and a native Doctor of our escort to Mallalieu, the big town of the Toboes, advising them of our approach, and soliciting from them an escort and guides through their country. Shortly after they were sent off, it began to rain, and continued to pour down for about two hours—the greatest quantity that fell, at any one time, during our journey.

Our envoys were instructed to pass through Tubah, the residence of Gov. Toh, the king or headman of the country—present our respects and a small dash which was sent him, and state to him our desire to press forward to the big town.

After an early breakfast (October 8th,) we proceeded on our way through Boloboh country to Tubah. We found the country different—more ups and downs, and nearly two-thirds of our path was through a forest extending North ten or twelve miles. About midway flowed a fine branch of Fish Town River to the Westward, dividing the Boloboh from Toboe country. This is the original forest, which has withstood the blasts of centuries, for many of the trees are of immense size. We there saw the walnut, oak, poplar, brimstone, whistmore &c. &c. all celebrated with us for plank, besides many others unknown. Crossing two other small streams, we much to our joy, passed into the open rice fields, of the Toboes, and knew that our journey was drawing to a close. We had still, however, two or three miles to go, and as the town was on quite a hill, we were well fatigued when we reached it.

Much to our surprise, we met our men who had been sent a-head, outside of the town, awaiting our arrival. They informed us of their detention by Governor Toh, the present king, who told them that Nimlee the old king had died the night of their arrival, and that the headmen from Mallalieu and other parts of the Toboe country were expected on the morrow, to attend the funeral, as messengers had been despatched in every direction.

We found every thing apparently in confusion—guns firing—war horns blowing—parties of women dancing, and the town full of strangers.—Invited in, we proceeded to Governor Toh's house, before the principal entrance of which lay the corpse. Over head a little scaffold was erected, on which was spread some cloths to shelter it from the sun; on each side were about twelve women—some weeping, some fanning, and some singing for parties of dancers, in a low and doleful strain accompanied with their calabash guitars; occasionally, the open space before the palaver house, would be enlivened by parties of armed men performing their war dances. Until quarters were provided for us, and Gov. Toh had given us his reasons for detaining our messengers, we were in a fair way of robbing the deceased old king of part of his funeral honors. We were at first quite angry with His Majesty, but as he ultimately provided very comfortable quarters for our party, and reassured us of the meeting of headmen on the morrow, we retired more reconciled to our night's rest.

October 9th. Very little dancing or firing during the night—all fairly worn out. Towards morning several guns were fired in various quarters, and as the different parties were expected in, great beating of rice was going on among the women. The town probably contains 350 or 400 inhabitants, and where quarters were to be found for all expected, was a mystery. About 9 A. M. different parties began to arrive—the Mallalieu soldiers, a fine body of about ninety men were pointed out, and subsequently we were introduced to their headman Wassa. Another party of about twenty-five warriors were also pointed out, who had come from Watteh on

Cavally river, one of them recognised a colonist of our party who spoke the Grebo language. Parties were continually arriving, but the harmony of the whole was threatened, for Governor Toh informed king Freeman and myself that the Mallalieu soldiers and another town near them were dancing separately. His request was that the headmen should be summoned directly before us and an effort made, on our part, to conciliate matters.

This turn of affairs was quite unexpected, but as we were strangers, we were probably better fitted to act as mediators than others. When the parties came, at first, there was a little backwardness to get either to speak, but finally Wassa headman from Mallalieu broke the ice, by declaring that neither himself nor his town people had ought against his neighbor Tourah or his town people, and that he was willing and ready to be reconciled. Tourah then got up and said, that his town being smaller than the other, his people were continually abused and insulted whenever their business called them that way; that even on his way to the funeral, the children and lads had called him bad names. It was true, they were one people and ought never to think of fighting each other, but he was angry and could not help it, at his treatment. This was a statement of matters—King Freeman then made a feeling address, when Wassa again rose and offered to make friends, by spewing water according to custom; but to our surprise, Tourah sat, though the weaker party, without saying a word. Governor Toh then addressed him, and his eldest son went out and brought in a wooden dish of water which he placed about the centre of the palaver ground. In answer to Gov. Toh, Tourah said he could forgive all former insults except the one received that morning. Wassa to manifest his sincerity, arose and went up to the water, and joining the tips of his fingers together took up as much water thrice as his mouth would hold, and spewed it out declaring that he had nothing in his heart against Tourah and his town. All eyes were now turned upon Tourah who feeling the necessity of saying or doing something, arose and went up to the dish and performed the same act Wassa had before. Thus ended the palaver, which insignificant as it may appear, threatened to mar the festivities of the day. A small dash of tobacco, and a short address closed our arbitration. After this, we found the Toboes quite friendly, though jealous that we had some sinister object, beside opening the paths for trade. Some privately informed King Freeman, that we should have guides after the funeral was over, and that many lies had been palmed upon us about war in our path, to prevent our proceeding farther.—About 4, P. M. of this day, received a visit from the Grand Devil of the Toboe country dressed in his robes of state, which were a native mask with beard, a pair of horns, a small shawl over the shoulders, with petticoats of thatch, to which was appended a strip of cloth, for a tail. His highness cut a hundred or more monkey capers, much to the edification of the surrounding crowd, until he was exhausted; when taking advantage of the pause, we presented our dash, and much to our joy, he made his congee and gave us pure air again. We had the good luck on our return to purchase this same mask, sold by consent of all—it being common property. The balance of his dress our people assured us could be manufactured easily at Cape Palmas.

Before sun set we deemed it best to call a grand palaver of the King and headmen, and as we had nothing to conceal, to lay open the objects we had in view when we left Cape Palmas—to see the different tribes, and countries, and if possible, open a free path to the camwood region. What success had attended our path thus far was evident from the good will manifested by the Saureekais and Boloboes who had given us guides and carriers to Tubah. It was not our intention to trample down any of the established customs of the country, but if our mission was agreeable, we expected the

same aid from them that had been extended by others.—The Saureekais viewed them and Boloboes as their Bush people; and they, the tribes beyond them, as theirs.—The former were willing to keep the path free on condition that each tribe pay one bullock, and we supposed they would be as favourable to the tribes beyond them.

Governor Toh replied that they had heard our words and an early answer would be given on the morrow. From a hint from my headman, a small dash of cloth, tobacco and pipes was given to aid them in burying their old King Nimlee. The palaver then broke up.—October 10th, arose early and walked over the town. Found all busied, but nothing like the confusion of yesterday. Visited the corpse, and saw them washing and preparing it for burial. Went also to the grave, and found it ready—it was about one foot deep, with pieces of wood about 3 feet in length laid across its bottom—around it were bundles of moss, intended as a covering instead of earth. Between 7 and 8 o'clock the firing again became general, as the soldiers from the different towns formed into bands, with war horns blowing, under their separate leaders; the confusion again became general, and we were told that the funeral was about to take place.

Previous to this, a fine bull had been killed, and its caul put over the face of the corpse which was then tied up in cloths and mats—its blood was saved, carried in a basin, and sprinkled over the cloths which were laid under and above its hide, which was spread over the cross sticks of the grave. The bullock's head and a fowl were placed at the feet of the corpse; its tail with two basins of boiled rice at the right hand—all these were carried in the procession. Every thing ready, the corpse was taken by four men on a low bier, preceded by parties of warriors with war horns and drums, and followed by four singing women with their calabashes. The bearers laid it by the side of the grave, and the armed parties as they came up proceeded to fire over it in all directions. The singing women kept their ground at 40 or 50 feet distant, out of harm's way, in sight, and continued singing until notice was given that the corpse would not be put away till towards sunset.

My surprise was great therefore after eating breakfast, to find that the corpse had been deposited in the grave in the interval. I had been fairly deceived by the headman, who declared aloud, that the funeral was postponed. On inspection, it appeared that the bundles of moss had been opened and placed carefully around the corpse, at the head and foot of which two stakes had been driven. Thus ended the funeral of King Nimlee—who was the oldest man in the country, and the last of the 6th generation since its occupation by the Toboes. According to their report he must have been 150 or 160 years of age. On a subsequent visit four or five days after, we found a fence around his grave, and four basins, a mug and two plates of rice at the head. Mourning was to be kept up 60 days.

The funeral being over, we reminded Governor Toh of his promise of yesterday—but he excused himself by saying, that we should proceed to Mallalieu, to which place he would follow us and call a council of the headmen. Every thing ready we departed from Tubah about noon, under the care of Wassa and his soldiers, and after a tedious jaunt of 17 or 18 miles, mostly on the ascent, we arrived about 5 P. M. at Mallalieu. On our route Wassa informed us that he desired Toh to give us men as guides and guards to carry us to the Long Bush; but we afterwards found that matters had been arranged among the heads, that we could proceed as far as Mallalieu, and afterwards, we would be obliged to turn back for want of guides, &c. We found Mallalieu quite a sizeable town, containing, perhaps, a population of 800 souls. Its location is very pleasant, being on the top of a very high hill, and overlooking all the surrounding country. It must be

a place of considerable trade, as most beach traders stop here, and give their money to a resident, who sends it still farther back for a market. On inquiry, we found the Toboes quite a powerful tribe, owning about twenty towns, four of which are on Cavally river. They occupy their present country by conquest. They came about 300 years ago, from back of Rockbookah, and routed the Naoohs, the original inhabitants, who moved off in a south-east direction—with whom they are constantly at war. The first town they built was on one of those highest mountains seen off Garroway, by vessels, called *Cattueh*. The descendants of the first family (Tiehs) are still alive. They seem quite intelligent for bush people, and one seldom sees a man with more natural dignity about him than Governor Toh, their present king. He never begged for the least item, a trait which few headmen have principle enough to leave off; though they know better, and that they lessen themselves by so doing in our estimation. The day after his promise, Governor Toh arrived at Mallalieu, to determine about our progress. He gave us not the least encouragement of guides or escort, and as the different headmen who had been called for this purpose from other towns, did not come, and the whole nation were opposed, silently, to our going farther back, we held a council and concluded to turn our faces homeward. When this was made known to him, he said not a word, but I thought from his looks that he was glad of it. It was our intention to have visited the Nimerobohs, Dourobohs and Bourobohs. The last are a powerful tribe, their country abounds in camwood and bullocks. While waiting at Mallalieu for the king and headmen, every artifice was used to get us to value and purchase camwood. The thing was unheard of that men should come 70 or 80 miles without some other object than to view the country and open the paths for trade. But we were steadfast; and as the colonists were even forbidden to buy a plantain without Yellow Will being tradesman, they were finally convinced.

One excuse made by Wassa, the headman, was, that a native doctor who was sent out about two years previously to open the paths for trade, did not complete the business according to the customs of the country—another, that notice had not been sent them of our intention to visit the Long Bush. Saw a man from Douroboh who seemed pleased with our going out to his country—told us "that no war was in the path to disturb us, though the Trembohs (between Toboe and Garroway) were at war with the Bourobohs"—but the route could not be accomplished without guides and escort from the Toboes.—In fact, we were afraid if we went on without their consent, after we had passed their territory that they would send parties ahead to waylay us, as the Nemerobohs are a weak people and could not protect us if they tried, against their more powerful neighbour.

Early on the 13th, we took our march on the return to Tubah, leaving Governor Toh behind on a promise to follow in few hours. Our route was a rough one—for two or more miles in the bed of a small stream, where at times, we had to wade in the water. In the rainy season, this route must be dangerous, if not impassable. We were furnished with the same convenient quarters, but from a hint from Yellow Will, I learned that the same abundant provision would not be made for us as on our way out—such being the customs of the country. Toboe country is bounded west by Tremba—north by Nemeroboh—south by Boloboh—east by Turrah, across Cavally river. Governor Toh arrived in three hours, and said something about our making another journey next year to the Long Bush, but we gave him no encouragement, as we felt hurt at the duplicity which had been used towards us. Next morning, after an early breakfast, we bid Toh farewell, and took up our march to Boloboh, where we arrived at 2 P. M.

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